2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

601 614 selves as the offspring of the mythical Omogoi-bai, in spite of the fact that they originate from his daughter, who married a Tatar or a Buryat.

533 591 606 To the end of the eighteenth century, there remained in vogue among the Yakut the custom of concession of wives. Formerly the bridegroom lived permanently in the house of his father-in-law, but in more recent times he lived there only for a definite period.

The *kalym*, or bride-price, replaced the system of marriage by capture. The origin of the *kalym* may be seen in the simulated enmity of the mother-in-law and the son-in-law.

583 587 837 842 A matriarchal system presupposes looseness of sex relations. The chastity of girls in rich families is not a question of morality but of *kalym*. The *kalym* for a widow or a girl who has had children is low. In the case of a widow, the belief in the right of the deceased husband may limit the number of wooers. A girl with a child, however, is sometimes preferred as a guaranty against barrenness which the Yakut dislike. In Yakut tales, the guest does not ask, "Where shall I sleep?", but, "Where do you put your guests?" and then they are shown to the beds of the girls. This is a form of hospitable hetaerism.

212 592 595 As the ancient Yakut had no written records, we know very little of their former life and particularly of their internal organization. Our information may be summarized in the following.

A household or yard was called *yal;* a group of individuals, who formed a family, as well as each member of the group, was called *kŏrgŏn*. The family consisted of blood relatives as well as of relatives by marriage: sons-in-law, wives (polygamy), adopted children, laborers, and slaves of both sexes. When the Yakut polygamist had several wives, he had several *yals*.

567 592 601 888 At the head of the family was the *aga*, meaning primarily "elder in age" and then "father." All the people of the household were regarded as and called by him "my children," "my sons or my daughters." Among these were included not only his own children, but also all relatives by blood and marriage, by adoption, by purchase (slaves), and any other dependents, as war captives. The *aga* continued to rule as long as he preserved his physical and mental abilities. According to a Yakut tradition, aged parents and also sick and crippled people, unable to work, were doomed to die and were even buried alive after three days of abundant entertainment.

181 888 Trostchansky, who lived as a political exile among the Yakut for about twenty years, characterizes them as egoistical utilitarians.[1] He

[1] Trostchansky, V. F., Notes on the Yakut of the Yakutsk District (*Memoirs, Imperial Society for Archaeology, History, and Ethnography*, vol. 27, parts 2–4, Kasan, 1911, in Russian), 97.

6: Sauer--129-130 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 587

"If an elder brother die, his wives become the property of the [130] younger; but if a younger brother die, his wives are free; yet they seldom marry again, except they be very poor."

19: Kharuzin -- 47-48 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-2
116, 178, 562, 587, 614

The right of the widow in the event of a childless marriage to return to her own family, the right of the husband to arrange before his death for the return of the dowry to his widow--all these rules, it appears, rose under the influence of the progressive softening of views on the personal and property incapacity of women. At an earlier time she was completely the property of her husband's group. Actually, we have no definite information concerning the existence of the levirate among the Yakuts at a former time; but the rules forbidding women to show themselves before the father-in-law and brothers-in-law, and vice versa, obviously bearing the character of so-called "sexual precaution" are traces of a one-time polyandry; finally, the absence among the Yakuts of any proper term for "widow," etc. (Sieroszewski, 569), compel us to assume that at a more remote time [48] the widow was considered the personal property of the family of the husband and probably passed to them as a piece of property. (1)

1. Contrary to the evidence of Mr. Gorokhov (Vsesoiûznoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, Vostochno-Sibirskiĭ Otdel, Izviestiia, 1883), Mr. Priklonsky mentions many instances of relations between the daughter-in-law and members of her husband's family: "This form of co-habitation is practiced often and quite freely, much more freely than, for instance among the Russians who conceal sin more

carefully (Tri goda v Akutskoi oblasti [Three Years in the Yakutsk Region]. Zhivaia Starina, 1891, Pt. 3, p. 61).

19: Kharuzin --53-54 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 562, 587, 593, 842

Despite the fact that with respect to marriage the sons still are in a position of dependence upon the parents, their situation is considerably freer than that of the girls. A widowed daughter, returning to the parental home, again falls under the authority of the father; she is as devoid of rights as her young unmarried sister. The more independent position of the son is explained chiefly by the fact that the family and the clan prize children of the male sex more highly than those of the female sex: the birth of a boy is greeted by the Yakut with greater joy than the birth of a girl. Yakuts who do not have sons are scorned by their neighbors: they call them khatirik-uoma, i. e. "fire from bark (?)." The small esteem in which girl children are held by the Yakuts is indicated by the rule, whereby [54] a widow who marries for a second time must leave her sons by the first marriage with the family of her husband; but the daughters, as an unnecessary element in the family group, she can take with her to her new family. This rule is obviously of comparatively recent origin: it could arise only after the widow became free in general to marry outside of the confines of her husband's group, and after the kalym had begun to lose its significance of a purchase price for the bride, and had begun to return to the family of the bridegroom in the form of a dowry. Gaining nothing by giving a daughter in marriage, the Yakut familial-household group naturally regards daughters as a completely superfluous element in the family, and sets no value on them.